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The Pan-American Conferences and their Significance

Addresses by

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Senor Don Joaquin D. Casasus

His Excellency, the Brazilian Ambassador

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His Excellency, the Bolivian Minister

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His Excellency, the Costa Rican Minister

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The Pan-American Conferences and Their Significance

PROCEEDINGS OF SPECIAL SESSION OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE HELD IN HONOR OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR,
SEÑOR DON JOAQUIN D. CASASUS
FEBRUARY 24, 1906

Introductory Remarks by the President of the Academy, Professor L. S. ROWE.

Addresses by: His Excellency SEÑOR DON JOAQUIN D. CASASUS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the United States.

His Excellency SEÑOR DON JOAQUIM NABUCO, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Brazil to the United States.

His Excellency SEÑOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia to the United States.

His Excellency SEÑOR DON JOAQUIN BERNARDO CALVO, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica to the United States.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By the President of the Academy, PROF. L. S. ROWE.

It is now more than fifteen years since Secretary Blaine made a reality of the dream of so many of our statesmen by bringing together the Republics of the American continent for the consideration of affairs of mutual interest. The vague hope of the nineteenth century has become the reality of the twentieth, with a conscious purpose and a definite organization.

With each succeeding conference the machinery through which the American republics express their united will is becoming more delicate in its adjustment and more effective in promoting that mutual understanding upon which the peace and prosperity of this continent rest.

To us, in the United States, these conferences have been of inestimable educative value. They have contributed more than any one other factor toward a more definite formulation of our policy in American affairs, and they have made us see more clearly that our position on this continent involves not only rights, but also grave responsibilities.

The success of these conferences has been due mainly to the influence of a small group of men, whose commanding position in their respective countries has enabled them to secure not only the formal adhesion of their governments to the resolutions adopted by these conferences, but also to insure the definite execution of the policy agreed upon. In this group of men, our guest of this evening has occupied a conspicuous position. It was largely due to his influence that the conference which met in Mexico City during the winter of 1902-03, was able to accomplish so much. The important part that he has played in Mexican affairs enabled him to speak with authority for his own country, and his thorough knowledge of the Spanish-American situation made it possible for him to guide the efforts of the congress into the most fruitful channels.

I regret that the limitations of my time and your patience forbid the enumeration of the services which he has rendered his country, and which explain the unique position of influence which he now occupies. As a jurist and statesman, he carried to successful conclusion the revision of the most important parts of the Mexican legal system; as an educator he is responsible for the extension of the scope of higher education into new and fruitful channels; as an economist and financier, he played a leading part in that remarkable reconstruction of the Mexican monetary system which has just been carried to successful conclusion, and finally as a patron of the arts and sciences he has, through counsel and financial encouragement, enabled a large group of young investigators, literateurs and poets to secure the equipment and training necessary to bring their talents to full fruition.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PAN- AMERICAN CONFERENCES

By His Excellency, the Mexican Ambassador, SENOR DON JOAQUIN
D. CASASUS.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: To overcome human selfishness, the most natural sentiment of mankind, so as to bring into existence the family and the clan was the first effort that primitive humanity accomplished to make its indefinite progress possible. To sacrifice family and tribal interests and to create the fatherland, so that under the same sky peoples united and having common aspirations might take shelter, was the chief victory achieved by man to assure his wellbeing on earth. And to cast, figuratively speaking, the fatherland into moulds heated by the fire of an immense love of humanity, nourished with sentiments of justice, is the supreme ideal towards which nations aim in seeking to become great and to secure peace.

To create the family and the tribe and obtain the first victory of man over man, it was necessary to use force; because, if in his primitive condition man is the enemy of man, as was believed by the English philosopher Hume, who said: "the natural state of man is war," force was the only civilizing weapon that he could wield. To found the fatherland by means of war, properly considered as the greatest of social necessities, right arose, and right has served, and serves still, as the immovable basis and the indispensable support of modern nationalities. The achievement of the highest victories and the establishment of humane institutions out of the conflicts over rights developed a sense of justice which is destined to render war useless and teach man to struggle for liberty and progress in the peaceful strife of human labor.

Men clustered around the hearth to constitute the family, and made of love the chain that holds together all beings as the only compensation for the sacrifice of individual selfishness. The peoples united on the same soil to form the fatherland, and the organization of government was the compensation for the limits prescribed to

individual liberty. Nations come nearer to each other to-day, aiming at the same ideal and leaving aside the obstacles that stood in the way of their mutual development and growth so as to make justice the supreme arbiter of right and to obtain it as the greatest reward for the sacrifice of national selfishness.

These three periods of the life of man mark the three epochs through which civilization has passed in developing, after constant and repeated sacrifices, the altruistic sentiment that makes all peoples members of one family: the great human family.

This ideal, always kept alive to-day in the conscience of mankind, has been inspiring nations now for many years with the desire and necessity of convening more frequently as time elapses, in conferences and congresses, some of them with the view of avoiding the conflicts produced by the growth of nations, others intended to limit the sphere of action of governments and still others to promote a better understanding between peoples; but all, without exception, to dissipate prejudices, re-establish concord, to do away with trammels to commerce, to proclaim peace and to cultivate cordial relations, based on a noble spirit of universal fraternity.

America could not be a stranger to this civilizing tendency, and the United States of America, which in the eighteenth century had taught the world that it was possible for peoples to live and prosper with self-government under the ægis of free institutions, wished also to demonstrate that it was practicable for the peoples of this hemisphere, without any harm to their wealth or menace to their independence to come together, in order that they should know better their commercial necessities and unify their legislation in all that did not harm their primary interests.

The Congress of the United States, by the act of May 24, 1888, authorized the President to invite the governments of Mexico, Central and South America, Haiti and Santo Domingo to hold a conference in conjunction with the United States, with the object of discussing and recommending to the respective governments a plan of arbitration for the solution of conflicts that might arise between them, to consider also matters pertaining to the development of commerce and the means of direct trade between those countries, and to improve the reciprocal commercial relations that might be mutually beneficial.

The law of Congress outlined the program of the conference.

Never before had such an extensive program been presented for an international conference nor had it been considered possible that such a program could be a matter of discussion among delegates of different nations.

The labors of the Pan-American Conference were for concord and peace; it did not seek, like the congresses of Leybach and Verona, to restore a form of government and authorize a nation to reconquer her colonies; neither was it inspired, as was the congress of Panama, a dream of the great Simon Bolivar, with the necessity of uniting the persecuted to resist the attacks of a common aggressor; it sought rather the union of all in common effort, it undertook to create the commercial prosperity of the hemisphere, and to give this prosperity a basis of peace by means of the amicable solution of international conflicts.

The commercial and political character of the congress was accurately shown in the program. The congress was commercial because the conference aimed at having a Zollverein between the nations of America, supported by a uniform system of Custom House rules for imports and exports of merchandise, equal duties and the same nomenclature and similar forms for consular invoices, all resting on the adoption of an identical system of weights and measures and on a silver currency of international legal tender. And it was besides a political congress because it contemplated the establishment of a general extradition treaty, and above all because it proclaimed that arbitration was the best means of solving the questions and differences that might arise among the nations of America.

The invitation to the conference was addressed to all the governments of the American continent on the 13th of July, 1888, and after all of them accepted it, the conference met at Washington, October 2, 1889, with Mr. James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, in the chair.

For a period of six months the program of the conference was largely discussed, and resolutions adopted were in the form of recommendations to the respective governments.

The commercial necessities of the continent were well considered and all agreed that it was desirable that a railway be built to clasp the continent with steel bands, and that means of rapid steam communication be established both on the Pacific and on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and that partial reci-

procity treaties between the governments should be negotiated to render fruitful said communication; that a common nomenclature of all the articles taxed or dutiable when imported by the different nations should be arranged in alphabetical order; that uniform rules for making up consular invoices be adopted and that all port and tonnage charges effective in different ports of the continent be consolidated in a single charge.

To foster the commercial interests of America, the creation of an international bank was considered as possible, and a new conference was convened to discuss and inaugurate a scheme of legal tender silver currency.

The political program of the conference was also agreed to in principle. The adoption of treaties on international, civil, commercial and criminal law was recommended; diplomatic intervention for the recovery or collection of money in cases of pecuniary claims, was condemned; the right of conquest was eliminated from the laws of the nations of the new world; negotiations for treaties of extradition of criminals were advised, and, lastly, it was declared that arbitration was the best means to adjust all conflicts that might arise between the different nations of America.

To symbolize this international union of the American republics it was deemed opportune to establish an international bureau, intrusted with the task of collecting and distributing commercial reports of all kinds.

What benefits were obtained by that conference? What was the practical result of that generous effort carried out to identify the commercial and political interests of America? The practical results were slight, but the conference did not fail to have great significance. In fact, the International Bureau of the American Republics was established in Washington; preliminary work was made for the survey of the intercontinental railway, and the commercial nomenclature was printed in three different languages. The other recommendations, however, were only an expression of noble ideas, of legitimate aspirations and plans, some perhaps impossible of accomplishment.

Yet it cannot be said that the conference did not perform a work of immense usefulness. It was a bond that linked together all the peoples of the continent; it revealed to each, community of interests; it had brought to the greater part promises of future well-

being; all countries knew each other more intimately; they had given evidence of their commercial power and had perceived a high ideal to be realized, if possible.

If only this result had been derived from the conference of 1889, it would have been of itself enough to reward the labors of the statesmen who conceived the idea of convening it and of those called upon to discuss the problems comprised in its program.

The transcendental importance of the work which this conference attempted to accomplish cannot be the labor of a single day, but the slow and arduous labor of successive generations. The dreams of yesterday become the realities of to-day and the conceptions of sagacious men, the idle fancies of poets and the efforts of statesmen, at last are changed into efficient laws, precepts of practical usefulness and roads that show us the way to aggrandizement and prosperity. Nations, like men, need ideals to sustain them in the obstinate struggle they undertake to accomplish their destinies, and these ideals must be to them like the pillar of fire which guided the uncertain path of the people of Israel through the desert.

The government of the United States, filled with enthusiasm, as it always is, for all that can affect the interests of the American continent, believed in insisting upon its purpose of assembling the representatives of the peoples of all the American states to discuss all questions that influence their international relations and pointed out the desirability of holding a second Pan-American Congress.

The City of Mexico having been selected for this second conference, the government of the United States of Mexico, on the 15th of August, of 1900, addressed an invitation to all the governments of the American states to assemble in October of 1901 in the capital of the aforesaid republic.

The program of the Second American International Conference contained the following propositions:

1. Matters treated by the former conference which the new conference decides to reconsider.
2. Arbitration.
3. International Court of Claims.
4. Means of protecting industry, agriculture and commerce. Development of communications between the nations that form the union. Consular, port, and customs regulations. Statistics.

5. Reorganization of the International Bureau of American Republics.

The program was as extensive as that of the first conference, and was calculated to give rise anew to long and thorough discussion of all those principles that underlie the foundation of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and political prosperity of America.

The second American International Conference profited, however, by the experience acquired in 1889, and did not strive to limit itself to making more or less effective recommendations to the continental governments, but proceeded to write, discuss, approve and sign treaties and conventions so appropriately prepared that they could be submitted to the legislative and treaty-making bodies of America for ratification, and so be converted into obligatory transactions of an international character.

The labors of this conference resulted in six conventions, four treaties, a protocol adhering to The Hague treaties of the 29th of July, 1899, eight resolutions and three recommendations.

The convention had the following purposes: the exchange of scientific, commercial and industrial publications; the protection of artistic and literary copyrights; the formation of codes of public international law and of private international law in America; the declaration of the validity of professional diplomas; the rights of foreigners, and the holding of a geographical congress which was to meet at Rio Janeiro.

The treaties comprised: patent and trade mark laws; extradition of criminals and protection against anarchy; the submission to arbitration of all pecuniary claims and obligatory arbitration in all questions not affecting the honor and independence of nations. It was previously stipulated that independence and national honor would not be considered at stake in all controversies relating to diplomatic privileges, boundaries, rights of navigation and validity, interpretation and observance of treaties.

The resolutions adopted by the conference referred to the prosecution of the work of the intercontinental railway: to the convening of special congresses, to deal with the customs system and the sanitary laws as well as with the production and consumption of coffee; to the reorganization of the International Bureau of the American Republics and to decide the form and the way in which the future international conferences were to be convened systematically.

The recommendations were intended to call the attention of the nations of America to the desirability of establishing an American bank; of creating an archaeological commission for the study and research of American antiquities and to the advantages that are to be obtained from the great Philadelphia Museum.

If all the nations represented in that conference had sent to their respective legislative bodies for study and ratification, after the meeting of the delegates, all the conventions and treaties adjusted, and these had been sanctioned by all the governments, the task of the conference held in Mexico would have been of such importance that it could well have gloried in being the greatest and most fruitful of all international conferences that had ever met in the lapse of centuries.

But even if it is not so, the practical results already obtained are such that the conference is never to be forgotten, and these results demonstrate that it has contributed more than any other to the commercial advancement of America and to the progress of a noble and generous idea: universal pacification.

Some of the Central American nations—Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras—gave their approval to all the labors of the Mexican conference. The United States ratified the convention for the exchange of publications, the Customs Congress was held in New York in January of 1903, and in December of 1902 and October of 1905 the Sanitary Congresses assembled, their labors being so beneficial that a new convention was signed in conformity with the context of that of Paris to regulate all that refers to sanitary service and quarantine.

The work of the conference in Mexico which is destined to perpetuate its name in history, is the convention on obligatory arbitration of pecuniary claims, which having been ratified by the Congress of the United States, by that of Mexico and by Peru, will soon be approved also by all the other nations of this hemisphere.

To understand the wide scope of this convention, one need only consider that notwithstanding the gigantic efforts made in all the civilized world to renounce force to obtain redress and succeed in having an era of peace and concord, this is the first time that the principle which the great Argentine Minister, Dr. Drago enunciated that the collection of public debts and pecuniary claims should never be made by force, has been consecrated in a general and obligatory form.

When the great thinkers Grotius, Pufendorff and Vattel dared to proclaim the principles of perpetual peace to be like magical dreams, impossible of realization; when philosophers like Bentham and Kant wished to avoid war by constituting international tribunals and permanent congresses of nations; when Stuart Mill, the publicist, tried to establish through the bonds of sympathy between peoples a supreme court of justice constituted by themselves to adjust their differences; when authorities on international law such as Levi and Bluntschli studied the proceedings for cases of arbitration, they could never have conceived that what was nothing but vain fancies, pleasing chimeras, golden dreams and deceptive illusions, would soon be transformed into rules and precepts of law, maxims of justice, effective obligations and commandments of strict observance.

When the governments of the United States of America and Mexico in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo bound themselves to try in the most sincere and earnest manner to preserve peace, employing for said purpose mutual representations and peaceful negotiations to avoid the disagreements that might arise between them as to the intent of the treaty or in reference to other matters in the political and commercial relations of both countries; and when again the government of the United States and that of Great Britain submitted to arbitration the Alabama claims in 1871, they could not suppose that within a relatively short period the peaceful solution of international conflicts would make such immense progress as to become an obligation knowingly agreed to and to be necessarily observed in some contests and controversies.

This arises from the fact that human civilization, like alluvial soil, is of slow and successive formation, years and centuries agglomerating their continual labor and preparing the rich and fruitful soil where, in perpetual bloom are to flourish noble ideas and generous sentiments destined to restore on earth the reign of peace and justice.

Another action of the second International American Conference worthy of the attention not only of the nations of this hemisphere, but of all of the civilized world, is the protocol adhering to the treaties signed in The Hague on the 29th of July, 1889.

In fact, of the nations of America only the United States and Mexico were represented in The Hague conference; and the others of the South American continent did not take part in the adjustment of the treaty which established for the first time the international tribunal destined to render effective the principle of arbitration.

This is not the occasion to express an opinion as to the organization of The Hague tribunal, which is the most intelligent attempt and the most august human institution ever established to promote universal peace; but we may remark that the fact of all the nations of America being summoned to enjoy its benefits may be considered as one of the great triumphs of the nineteenth century.

If in future nations are to decide to increase slowly the number of cases in which arbitration can be compulsory, when it is a question of interpretation of conventions and treaties, or when they refer to matters not affecting independence and national honor until they accept arbitration in all its entirety, nothing will contribute more powerfully to its accomplishment than The Hague International Tribunal which, in the midst of the desolation engendered by war, of the sacrifices of human life and of the destruction of public wealth it occasions, will be considered by the nations as the ark from which will sally forth the dove, a harbinger of universal peace.

The conference of Mexico assured another benefit for America: the periodicity of the conference to pursue the study of all the questions that interest America, and in virtue of which periodicity the third Pan-American Conference is to meet shortly in the capital of the great republic of Brazil.

It is not possible for human sagacity to penetrate with investigating foresight the depths of the future to ascertain what the next and the succeeding International American Conferences are to be in the course of time; but it can be affirmed, without fear of falling into an error, that each one will be of more importance than the preceding, and that all of them will strive with more eagerness to rivet the bonds which are to unite the nations of this hemisphere.

If we have seen that a union of the nations is to be accomplished at the cost of some sacrifices of national selfishness; and if we have reflected that in the long run these sacrifices without eliminating the frontiers which divide nations contribute to the organization of future humanity, it is but natural to suppose that all these conferences that America is to hold from time to time are to be landmarks on the road to that ideal that protects and encourages us. The American continent, governed by free institutions, ruled by just governments, impelled by noble ambitions, is the most appropriate field for establishing the new forms of future international law, and we may hope that to the creation of these new forms the Pan-American Conferences will direct all their efforts.

THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

By His Excellency, SENOR DON JOAQUIM NABUCO,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Brazil to the United States.

I may assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that having to speak in a foreign language I would prefer, instead of making any remarks of my own, simply to move that the Mexican Ambassador's address be heard a second time. A more lucid statement of the significance of the Pan-American Conference could not be drawn. Your President, Professor Rowe, succeeded in organizing beforehand to-night a small Pan-American Conference by asking to your Academy representatives of North, Central and South America, and he has called on each of us to express his personal views. I ask, therefore, Senor Casasus's kind permission to use his statement as a convenient platform, and will try to build upon it one or two structures in addition to his own.

The function of those now periodical assemblies of the American Republics, as it seems to me, should be, first, to form and to manifest to the world the American conscience; secondly, to create a common American public opinion. I am employing the word "American" in the sense of continental. This explanation seems necessary nowadays, chiefly in speaking to the people of the United States. That shows the giant strides your country must have made to absorb in the current language the name of our continent. As the original America, that of the early sixteenth century, was Brazil, I hope we will in a few centuries more come to a compromise on the point.

The American conscience I refer to is the sentiment of our own separate orbit, of an orbit absolutely detached from the European, in which Africa and Asia, not speaking of Australasia, are moving. With all our sympathy and interest for Europe, conscious of all we owe to the European influx, products as we are of the overflow of the European races, doubting even that in our soil

all the stems of European culture could ever produce the same fruits or the same flowers as in their native soil, we, however, elected to form a political system wholly unconnected with that of Europe. That, I am sure, is not only to our own advantage; it is also to the advantage of Europe, which finds in our continent a ground for the development of all its races, a field for its superabundant forces, more ready than if it thought of acquiring it by conquest. The existence of neutrals in the world is surely a blessing to the belligerents themselves, and but for our own independent American sphere the whole world might be considered a belligerent camp, devoted even in the intervals of peace to plans of war.

An obstacle to the growth of the Pan-American conscience lies precisely in the great shadow the United States throws over the rest of the continent. It will be, however, a matter of good sense and of sincerity for Latin America to admit the belief universally held abroad that the principal guarantee for the separateness of the American political system is the existence in its midst of a mass of human power that practically balances that of the rest of the world. In that sense the preliminary step for the formation of the American conscience is that the Latin Republics look to the part the United States had and has to play in guarding the Monroe Doctrine as in no way offensive to the pride and the dignity of any of them, but, on the contrary, as a privilege which they ought to support, at least with their sympathy and their loyal acknowledgment of the service rendered to all. That will no doubt be the ultimate result of the Pan-American Conferences. Working together with you, they will understand better your disinterestedness in laying down that principle as the basis of all your foreign policy, and on your side you will find that since their independence they have all looked to you, whatever else may have come here and there to the surface, with sustained admiration and with deep pride.

The other great function of those Conferences, as I view it, should be the formation of a public opinion common to the whole continent. You doubtless noticed the words Secretary Root used in the short and forcible speech which he delivered the other night at the Brazilian Embassy: "May we all do our share towards the building up of a sound and enlightened public opinion of the Americas, which shall everywhere, upon both continents mightily promote the reign of peace, of order, and of justice in every Amer-

ican Republic." I am glad he expressed himself in that way, as I always thought that everything in that direction depends first of all on the creation of a common American opinion.

You could not imagine nations mixing and working together without coming in the course of time to the same degree of civilization, just as liquids in communicating vases will show the same level. In these conferences Latin America, you must remember, is mixing with your democracy, the like of which has never before been seen.

Allow me to add one word more, since I find myself to-night at one of the centres of America's highest culture. What the conferences and meetings of the governments can do is much in itself, but is little compared to what would be done if the people, the liberal minds, the institutions, and the organs of public opinion of the different American Republics were to approach each other, have their own "conferences," and show real concern in their common progress by seeing that no country remains hopelessly behind the others. That is the much broader and much deeper task awaiting the creation by the universities of the two Americas, chiefly of yours, of a generation of masters and students, possessed of the continental spirit, anxious that the American civilization, now I employ the word "American" in the sense of your own, shall expand and reach the whole New World.

It is with such a hope that I beg to support the views so clearly put before this Academy by my distinguished friend the Mexican Ambassador.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

By His Excellency, SENOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia to the United
States.

I feel highly honored to be called upon to address such an important and learned assembly and to have an opportunity of making a few remarks about my own country.

When the Pilgrims abandoned the home of their fathers for conscience sake and undertook to cross the ocean to seek their freedom, everything before them was uncertain, except their faith in God and their deep and strong love of justice and right. They brought with them and propagated in the New World all the virtues that go to make a man a true and worthy image of his Maker, and from such seed has developed a nation that in due course of time has come to be, not only a great world power, but the sacred asylum for all liberty-loving people.

Great as is your material wealth, astonishing as is your progress and the development of your industries and commerce, and amazing as is the accumulation of wealth and the well being of the majority of the people of the United States, nothing appeals with greater force to my mind than the practical working of the principle of equality and freedom, limited only by law, which fact I consider as the mainspring of all your advancement.

When I contemplate the humblest citizen enjoying all the privileges and having open to him all the honors and all the rights that in some other nations are the patrimony of the few, I cannot help exclaim that American democracy is truly the consummation of the conquests of liberty and justice in the world.

Now, on the other hand, if you please, remember for a moment how different was the material that came to colonize and settle the other portion of the American continent; when you consider that the men who conquered Peru and Mexico were nothing but adventurers, seeking for gold and the satisfaction of their hunger for

wealth; that after vanquishing and destroying highly organized nations, subjugated their inhabitants to serfdom; that the history of the three centuries of Spanish dominion is only a long chain of despotism and tyranny, you readily understand that when the Latin-American Republics, after long years of fighting for their freedom, succeeded at last and made themselves independent through their own exertions, their traditions and their education were far from suited to the proper exercise of free and orderly government. Even the geographical formation of our countries presents obstacles that do not exist in this Republic. That is why during the early years of their independence, and for some of them even up to this day, they had to pass through a dark period of formation and revolutions. Fortunately the majority of the republics of South America have entered firmly upon an era of peaceful development of their natural resources under well established governments.

There is a wrong propensity in this country to lump as one the different Republics of the South, and thus form a misleading opinion about their condition and progress.

Bolivia had also an epoch of misfortunes, and after sad experiences that cost her the loss of much of her territory, is now earnestly seeking to develop her great wealth and future.

Her mineral resources are second to none, and the Bolivian mountains contain a wonderful variety of minerals. The silver mines of Potosi are famous in the history of the world, and have contributed largely to its wealth. Silver, copper, antimony, bismuth, gold, and, at present, tin rank highest among the many minerals her territory produces. An Italian scientist, Mr. Raymond, who made a life study of Peru, has called Bolivia a silver table standing on legs of gold.

The Andes divide themselves in Bolivian territory into two big branches. One towards the coast forms the western Cordillera, and the other, leading towards the east, is called the Cordillera real. Between these two branches extends the high plateau where most of the mineral wealth is to be found. In the eastern section are the vast virgin forests, where rubber, Peruvian bark and a great many other medicinal plants, and all kinds of fine woods grow luxuriantly. The reason why in the commerce of the world a great many of these Bolivian products are not known as such, is because they pass through the territory of neighboring republics and are

shipped from their ports. The Bolivian copper, for instance, passing through Chilian ports, is considered as Chilian copper. The Bolivian rubber shipped at Para is called Para rubber, etc.

My government is at present endeavoring to build a system of railways that will connect the north and the south of the country and facilitate the development of its resources. An idea of their importance may be gotten from the fact that in a few years, and notwithstanding the absolute lack of means of transportation and without the proper machinery, we have increased our exports of tin from about 2,000 tons of crude ore to 25,000 tons last year. It is also a remarkable fact that Bolivia is the only tin-producing country in both Americas, and as this metal is found almost all over the country, its future is great.

The United States, I understand, consumes for its industries about 43 per cent. of the tin in the world, and for want of banking facilities and direct transportation from South America here, you are compelled to get the Bolivian tin via Europe, and this is the case with many other South American products, which are freely imported to England, France, and Germany.

When the railways now being surveyed are completed one of the most important links of the Pan-American system will be made, and then it will be possible to go by rail over a distance of about 2,000 miles, from La Paz, in Bolivia, to Buenos Ayres, in the Argentine.

Peru is also developing its railway system, and in the near future Lima, La Paz and Buenos Ayres, and even Santiago, in Chile, will be united by rail over the length of the South American continent, through a net of railroads more than three thousand miles in length.

Bolivia is absolutely free from any foreign debts, and instead of owing any money has at its disposal ten million dollars in gold to be devoted to the building of railways; and her revenues are sufficient not only to pay all the expenses of the administration, but to leave some surplus to pay the interest of the money that we are seeking to find for the construction of the roads I have described.

We shall welcome the aid of the capital and the enterprising spirit of the United States, and I earnestly hope that the leading men of this country will pay more attention to the great possibilities open to American capital in every one of the South American countries,

and that coming into closer contact the peoples of the North and of the South will learn to understand each other better, and to realize that South America is not a field for revolutions only, and that its people are just as progressive and ready for advancement as any in the world. By this means a true Pan-American feeling may be developed in a great democratic brotherhood based on the mutual respect and estimation of its citizens.

THE RELATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA TO THE PAN-AMERICAN MOVEMENT

By His Excellency, SENOR DON JOAQUIN BERNARDO CALVO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica to the
United States.

It would seem like carrying owls to Athens to attempt to add one word to what has already been said by the very able gentlemen who have discussed the important subject of the Pan-American Congresses and Their Significance. To their Excellencies, the Ambassadors from Brazil and Mexico, Senores Nabuco and Casasus, all America owes a debt of gratitude for the productions with which they have enriched the literature of this continent. Mr. Casasus has disclosed to the Spanish-speaking people of our hemisphere the beauties of the foremost English-speaking American poet. He has aided us all in his lucid contributions on finance and other matters of political economy, and in the work that we are about to undertake in Brazil he is an expert, having so successfully guided the second conference in Mexico as its Secretary General. Mr. Nabuco, whose amiable and skilful diplomacy is well known to the world, is the author of several books of note on constitutional law, on political institutions, and political and diplomatic history, and has also contributed to the beauties of pure literary work. He, who, by his mere presence in Washington, secured for his country the honor of entertaining the third conference, has his name indelibly engraved in the heart of humanity. No wonder that he could speak so eloquently on a recent occasion of the great Abraham Lincoln. The martyr President liberated in the United States millions of human beings from their chains of bondage. Hardly a generation later Brazil emancipated her slaves, and among her statesmen who brought about this monumental act of justice no name shines with brighter lustre than that of Joaquim Nabuco.

United to the names of these gentlemen in the work of the

next conference we have one representing this great and powerful nation whom we not only respect, but admire. His practical demonstrations of friendship and interest in the welfare of all America command for him our affectionate regard. No one may be assured of a warmer welcome in the third conference than the Honorable Elihu Root.

Speaking for Central America, and especially for my own country, Costa Rica, I wish to say a word. The precious link between the two Americas, in addition to the blessings of being in the center of this continent, bathed by the two great oceans and inhabited by a people orderly and progressive and of no common intelligence, has also a great glory recorded in the history of the American hemisphere, a glory of which we have reason to be very proud. The independence of Central America was the consequence of the triumphs of the great patriots of Mexico and South America, and was declared on the 15th of September, 1821, and only two years later, by a single decree, the abolition of slavery was accomplished in Central America at once without any indemnity being paid to the owners of the slaves, who were themselves the first to support this humane measure. Such an act shows how the Central American people appreciated the benefits of liberty which they owed to their greater neighbors, and that they were well enlightened for their new life as a free people.

To be relatively small is not a disgrace. Material grandeur, if certainly desirable, is not the acme of greatness, and we know that the latter exists where justice rules, where the general good is the supreme law, and where the aspiration is toward the consideration and respect of the other nations and toward the common advancement of humanity.

Now we are divided into five independent States, with Panama as a sixth, which may eventually merge into a greater nation. But, whether united or separated, the States of Central America have shown at all times their love for progress and advancement; they have co-operated with true ideas of Pan-Americanism to the success of the first and second conferences; therefore you are assured that they fully recognize the broad as well as the narrow interests which the Republics of America have in common, and will cheerfully now, as they have in the past, endeavor to do their part in the intelligent progress that the third conference is destined to bring about.